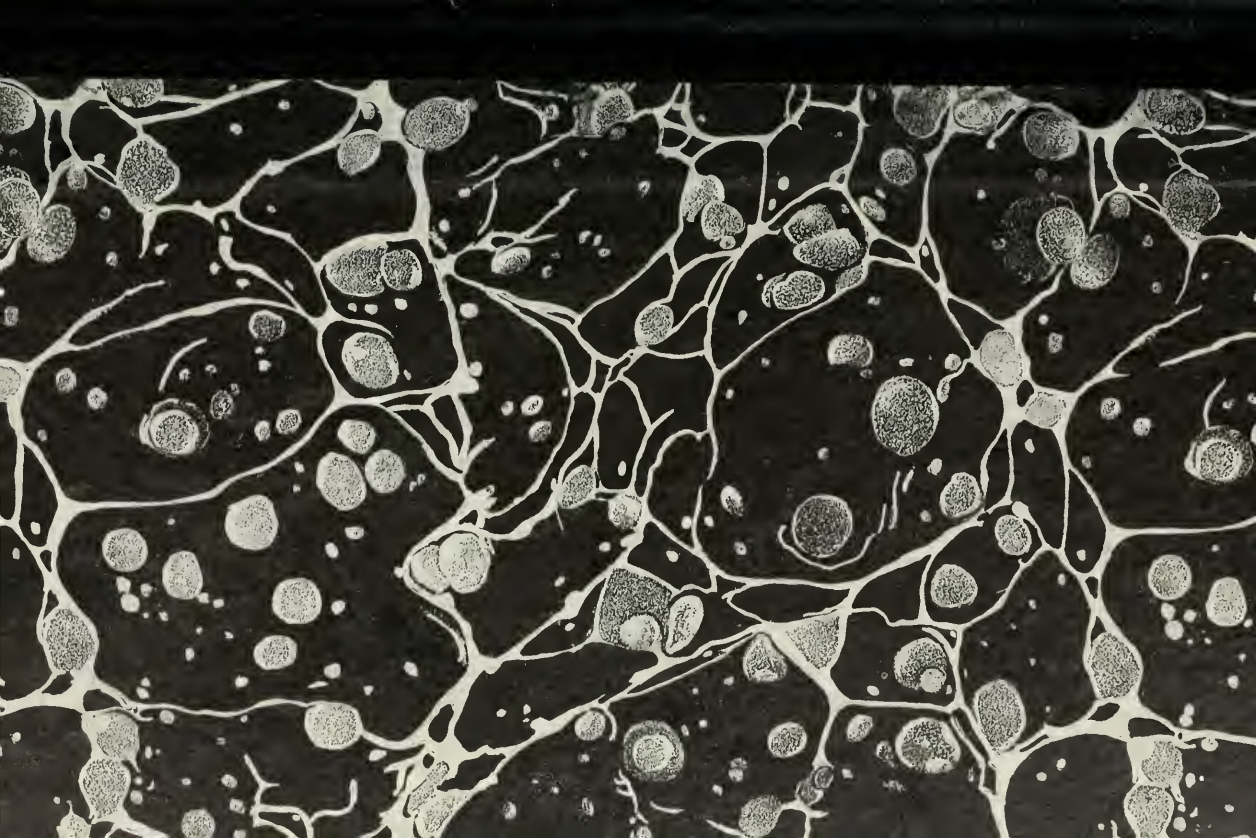

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THE

CASE

FAIRLY STATED:

IN A

LETTER

FROM A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT
In the COUNTRY INTEREST,

TO

One of his CONSTITUENTS.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat ——.

LONDON:

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THE

CASE

FAIRLY STATED.

SIR,

YOU may remember, that a few Days before I left the Country, in order to attend my Duty in Parliament, we received an Account of Alterations at Court, which you and I flatter'd ourſelves, muſt be attended with ſome extraordinary Advantages to the Publick:——You cannot forget with what Satisfaction the firſt News of this Change was received in the Country; I can aſſure you, it was received with the ſame Joy in Town, where Affairs of that Nature are more reaſoned upon, and better underſtood.

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You will imagine, that we who owe our Seats to a voluntary Struggle of the People againſt the Corruption of the Times, were altogether Neuters in the Quarrel: ——We could have no Affections, no Attachments, to either of the Rivals for Power:——We had ſeen one of thoſe Rivals, during a long Adminiſtration, aiding and abetting thoſe wicked Meaſures that have laid the Foundation of all the Calamities that afflict this Country.—— We had ſeen the chief of the other Faction, for many Years, vigorouſly and conſtantly oppoſing that Adminiſtration; but when the critical Time came, and this Country had Reaſon to expect a thorough Deliverance; when it was in the Power of him and his Friends, by the Aſſiſtance of a cool and diſpaſſionate Majority, to have unlooſed the Bands of Corruption, and to have repair'd the Breaches of the Conſtitution; we ſaw him baſely bargaining for Favour in the Cloſet, by ſcreening the Crimes of his Predeceſſor; meanly capitulating in the Dark, for what he might have challenged in open Day; and to perpetuate his ill-gotten Power, plunging this

Country into a ruinous Land War, without a ſingle Ally, contrary to the expreſs Advice of Parliament:——We had ſeen, in the Proſecution of that War, every fortunate Opportunity that Providence threw in our Way, neglected; every Propoſal of retreating out of it with Honour, ſlighted and rejected.

In this Light theſe Competitors for Power were conſidered, and therefore, who could wonder, that three noble Lords who were deſirous of taking Advantage from this Struggle, ſhould chuſe rather to turn to thoſe whoſe Intereſt it ſeemed to be, to make the greateſt Conceſſions, and from whom the moſt Good, or, at worſt, the leaſt Evil, might be expected?

This Change, as I ſaid, happened before the Meeting of Parliament: When Gentlemen came to Town, one of thoſe noble Perſons, with whom many of us lived in Friendſhip, and whom we all honoured, undertook to treat with us upon this Occaſion: He gave us the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of the good Intentions of the new Miniſtry for a total Change of Meaſures:—He repreſented to us, 'That by the wild,

'im-

'impracticable Manner in which the War 'had hitherto been carried on, Affairs a-'broad were in a moſt diſtracted Situ-'ation; that this Nation was on the Brink 'of a dreadful Precipice, from which no-'thing but the Aſſiſtance of the Country 'Gentlemen could reſcue it, by enabling 'the Miniſtry to get out of the War with 'Honour and Safety to the Nation: (a 'Thing we muſt wiſh as well as they) 'That the Miniſtry would aſſiſt us, in Re-'turn, in all the reaſonable Securities we 'could deſire, againſt thoſe Grievances of 'which the Country complained.'——Or Words to that Effect.

There needed few Arguments to convince us of the miſerable Situation of our Foreign Affairs; and with regard to Domeſtick, we came but too well inſtructed by the Calamity and Want we had ſeen in the Country.

We were ſenſible, that, conſidering their paſt Behaviour, we had but little Expectation of Good from one Set of Men, and from the other none at all. We ſaw, that if we refuſed to ſupport that Side, from whence there was a Poſſibility of Good ariſing,

ariſing, it would be in Effect, re-eſtabliſhing the Power of the other, which had already been attended with ſuch fatal Conſequences. We foreſaw, on the one Hand, the Blame we ſhould juſtly incur, if by our Behaviour we contributed to put the Helm again into thoſe mad Hands, that had already ſteered the Veſſel ſo near its Deſtruction: On the other, we as plainly diſcerned the Hazard we ran, in ſupporting thoſe who could only give Promiſes and Aſſurances, for fulfilling which ſome Time, in the Nature of Things, muſt neceſſarily be allowed.

In ſuch Circumſtances, Sir, we well knew, that our Behaviour would be liable to the Miſrepreſentation of thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was to miſrepreſent and divide us. But, I muſt confeſs, we little imagined, our Conduct would have been compared with that of thoſe Gentlemen who ſo ſhamefully deſerted us three Years ago. We were then a confeſſed Majority, able, if *they had been willing*, to redreſs the Grievances of our Country: That all Inquiry into paſt Offences was oppoſed by ſome of them, from the very Beginning of their Power,

Power, is notorious; and that others, who outwardly promoted a Committee of Inquiry, made uſe of it only for private Ends, is as notorious: For tho' the Report of that Committee was allowed, even by an able Friend of the late Miniſter's *, to contain as black a Scene of Iniquity and Corruption, as ever was laid before a Parliament; yet, when the Turn was ſerved, that Report lay unregarded upon the Table; and ſuch have been the Meaſures thoſe Gentlemen have ſince purſued, ſuch the miſerable Condition to which they have reduced their Country, that it has been forced in a Manner, to turn for Relief to thoſe very Perſons, who had been ſo deeply concerned in that dark Scene I have juſt mentioned.

Let us now examine into the Conduct of that worthy Gentleman and his Friends, who have been ſo unfairly miſrepreſented on this Occaſion.—They ſaw their Country juſt ſinking, almoſt beyond the Hopes of Redemption, and conſidered the Opportunity now offered as the laſt (and pray God it may not be ſo!) of propping up a falling Nation, in Hopes of ſome further Aſſiſtance

* One of the City Members.

Aſſiſtance to re-eſtabliſh it on a more ſolid Foundation.——I appeal to all Mankind, whether this was not the general Opinion at the Time I am ſpeaking of.

But upon the firſt Overtures, that were made to the Gentlemen, whoſe Characters deſerve this Vindication, how did they act? Did they endeavour to turn the national Diſtreſs to their private Advantage? Did they bargain for Employments for themſelves and Families? No, Sir; it is notorious, that on their firſt coming to Town, when they were ſeparately talked to, and ſolicited to take Places, with unuſual Application, their Refuſal was almoſt unanimous: Their Anſwer, proceeding from Principle, not from any previous Concert, was the ſame, 'That they were truly ſenſible of the Miſeries of their Country, and ready, without any Advantage to themſelves, to aſſiſt thoſe who ſhould ſtand forth as its Deliverers; but deſired to be excuſed from any Share in Employments, till they ſaw an Alteration of Domeſtick as well as Foreign Meaſures.'

They acknowledged, that the great, the immediate Point to be attended to, was the

getting rid of the War on the Continent: ——They knew, that, ſhould the Expences of That continue but for one more inglorious, inactive Campaign, the Nation would be ſo exhauſted, that all Conſtitutional Remedies would be as ineffectual as alterative Medicines adminiſtered to a Patient who was bleeding to Death.—— But did they make this a Pretence for not aſking for Conſtitutional Bills? No, Sir; tho' they were ſenſible their firſt Application muſt be to cloſe that Wound, thro' which their Country was bleeding its laſt; yet they were not unmindful of preparing Remedies to reſtore it to its former Vigour. —— They told the noble Lord I have mentioned, that unleſs ſomething was done for the Conſtitution, it was in vain for the Miniſters to expect their Aſſiſtance; and for Fear of Miſtakes, they put into his Hands their Propoſitions in Writing, of which the following is an authentick Copy. But I muſt firſt clear up a very groſs Miſtake about thoſe Propoſitions, which have been maliciouſly uſhered into the World, under the Title of *Broad-Bottom Promiſes*, with an Inſinuation, as if the Country Gen-

tlemen who made thoſe Demands had actually promiſed them to their Friends.—They made no Promiſes to their Friends: God knows! it was not in their Power at that Time to make any Promiſes.——The Particulars They deſired were,

1. That there ſhall be new Commiſſions of the Peace for every County, and that all Gentlemen of Fortune be admitted without Diſtinction.

2. That the Bill for the Qualification of Juſtices be explained, and made effectual.

3. That no Cuſtom-Houſe or Exciſe-Officers ſhall be allowed to vote at Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, and that a Bill be paſſed for that Purpoſe.

4. That a Place-Bill, with proper Reſtrictions, be paſſed.

5. That there be an Inquiry into the State and Management of the Navy.

6. That when the Circumſtances of Affairs ſhall permit, ſuch a Reduction of the Army be made, as ſhall be conſiſtent with the Liberties of a Free People.

7. That there be as great Savings as poſſible in all Parliamentary Grants, and

that a Spirit of Œconomy be carried thro' the Whole.

8. That the 16,000 *Hanoverians* ſhall not be continued in *Engliſh* Pay, but that other Troops, if neceſſary, be provided in their Stead.

9. That ſuch Meaſures only be purſued, as ſhall be conſiſtent with the Intereſt of *Great Britain.*

I need not expatiate on the Importance and Utility of theſe Propoſitions: As on the one Hand, they were not ſo ſtiff and rigid as to be called impracticable, ſo on the other, I think, they as little deſerved the Epithets of trifling and immaterial. And had they taken Place with the Settlement of the Crown, we ſhould not complain of that Load of Debts and Taxes, under which we ſtagger at this Day. —The Nation hath ſenſibly felt the Want of ſuch Securities. — You and I have lived to ſee the inferior Utenſils of Offices, and the low Retinue of Miniſters, uſurp Seats in a certain Place, where they never could have mounted but by Practices unnatural to the Conſtitution.

I ſhall not trouble you with anſwering all the Falſhoods, that have been diſperſed in Pamphlets, ſince the Beginning of this Seſſion. I ſent you that which has for Title, —— *An Expoſtulatory Epiſtle to the Welch Knight*, &c. —— No Man can be impoſed upon by it, but one who is weak enough to take Surmiſes and Inſinuations for Facts: Had the Author meant honeſtly, he would have waited to have ſeen the End of this Affair, before he ventured to publiſh his Reflections. He is an Enemy that puts on the Countenance of a Friend; and if he has avoided opprobrious Language, it is to give ſome Appearance of Candour to his Miſrepreſentations. You will ſee by the following ſhort Recital of Facts, how falſely he has charged us with changing our Behaviour, which, I hope, will appear to be uniform, and conſiſtent with what it has been for near thirty Years; for ſo long have we been oppoſing bad Meaſures; and by the ſame Principle we oppoſed bad, we thought ourſelves obliged, ſetting aſide Favour and Prejudice to Perſons, to aſſiſt the Miniſters who ſhould firſt promote any that were good. — This,

Sir,

Sir, we always thought our Duty, notwithſtanding the bad Idea that is affixed to the Word Miniſter; and, I hope, our Behaviour has ſhewn, that we are ſteady in the ſame Principle.

That we did concur with the Miniſters in ſome Votes, is true; but upon Reaſons that, I hope, will juſtify us to our Country. —— That we have not met with a ſuitable Return, is as true; but altho' we have not been able to obtain a Redreſs of all thoſe Grievances, of which we complain, yet I hope to convince you, that our Conduct is free from the Imputation of Weakneſs, as well as Treachery.

The Seſſion was opened by a Speech from the Throne, the Addreſs to which paſſed without any Oppoſition. — Speeches from the Throne are always conſidered as the Speeches of the Miniſter, and have been more peculiarly ſo of late Years, as containing an Enumeration of his paſt, and a ſhort Sketch of his intended Meaſures: Theſe Speeches echoed back, Paragraph by Paragraph, in the Addreſſes, became the Parliament's Approbation of what was paſt, as well as their Conſent to what

what was to come; and tho' it has been of late uſually inſinuated, that Addreſſes were Matters of Compliment only, and that the agreeing to them by no Means precluded Gentlemen from giving their Opinion again, when the Particulars came to be ſingly debated; yet, it is certain, great Advantage hath been taken from thence, and when particular Meaſures have been afterwards objected to, it hath been repreſented as inconſiſtent Behaviour.

But upon the preſent Occaſion, both Speech and Addreſs were ſo cautiouſly worded, that no ill Uſe of that Kind could be feared from either. And it was with great Pleaſure, that we heard his Majeſty aſſure us, that he was then endeavouring, with the States-General, to fix the certain Proportions of Force and Expence for the farther Proſecution of the War.——This neceſſary Meaſure had been ſtrongly urged by the Minority in the preceding Seſſion, as a Condition which ought previouſly to be inſiſted on with our Neighbours the States, before we engaged any farther in a Cauſe, in which they appeared to be more imme-

immediately intereſted than *Great Britain.* And happy would it have been, if the late Miniſter had purſued that Advice, at a Time when this Nation might have retreated with more Eaſe, had the *Dutch* not anſwered our juſt Expectations.——If ſome Suſpicions are true, it is no Wonder that a Miniſter ſhould be unwilling to inſiſt on that Point, when he might be eaſily anſwered, that he was not conducting the War, either on a *Britiſh*, or a *Dutch* Bottom.

But now this Condition, both in publick and private Diſcourſe, was to be made the *Sine qua non* of our farther Proſecution of the War; and we could not imagine, that our new Adminiſtration would propoſe this Meaſure, unleſs they were able to convince the States, that the only Object they had in View, was the making a ſafe and honourable Peace, for the mutual Advantage of both Nations: And to confirm theſe Hopes, it was publickly known, that a noble Lord was to be ſent on this Embaſſy, whoſe confeſſed Abilities and great Reputation would not permit him to trifle with us on ſuch an important Occaſion.

Upon

Upon theſe Conſiderations, when our Army in *Flanders* came to be voted, we were induced to add that Weight which Unanimity gives to Parliamentary Reſolutions; and ſurely, this Behaviour cannot be thought inconſiſtent with the Principles we have always profeſſed. For you will conſider, Sir, that though we have conſtantly oppoſed, though we ſtill deteſt thoſe Meaſures that have brought this Land-War upon us; yet it now becomes our Duty to get out of it as well as we can. Our Honour, our Safety, is now at Stake; for if *Great Britain*, after the Part ſhe has taken, ſhould be reduced to that melancholy Neceſſity of withdrawing her Forces before a general Peace be made, the Conſequences are obvious. Every Power in *Europe*, either actually at War with *France*, or virtually ſo by her Engagements with the Queen of *Hungary*, muſt make their ſeparate Treaties of Peace with that Crown, and thoſe Treaties will be ſo many Sacrifices of the Commerce of *Great Britain*. Who does not ſee, that if we had inſtantly withdrawn our Troops, the Maritime Towns of *Flanders* muſt, be-

fore this Time, have been in the Poſſeſſion of our declared Enemy? And may we not juſtly apprehend, that if *France*, in Conjunction with *Spain*, were left at Liberty to exert herſelf on the Side of *Italy*, the Ports of the *Mediterranean* muſt ſoon fall into her Hands?—And what is the moſt mortifying Circumſtance, our Navy, the natural Bulwark and Defence of this Kingdom, from Practices I need not mention, is now become but a feeble, though our only Support. Yet fatal as all theſe Conſequences are, this Meaſure of withdrawing our Troops muſt be ſubmitted to, if the *Dutch* do not vigorouſly co-operate in making this a deciſive Campaign.

It has, indeed, been objected, that as the hearty Concurrence of the *Dutch* was the Principle we ſet out upon, we ſhould have deferred this Vote till we had received their Anſwer; but as the late Departure of the noble Lord, and the dilatory Forms of their Government made that impoſſible, the poſtponing our *Flanders* Army beyond the uſual Time, would have given but too ſpecious a Pretence for Backwardneſs in that divided Republick,

and

and have injured the Cauſe we meant to promote.——I do not know, whether it may be worth while to mention an Argument that has ſince appeared in Print, *viz.* *That our voting all the Men and Money neceſſary to carry on a Land-War, in which we are but remotely concerned, at our ſole Expence, was of all Things the greateſt Encouragement for the* Dutch, *who are not immediately concerned, not to ſtir a Step.* But, I am ſure, I need take no other Method of confuting ſuch an Argument, than barely telling you, that we have voted but Twenty-four Thouſand effective Men for the Service of *Flanders*, where the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* is principally demanded. A Force ſufficient, indeed, to give Weight to our Ambaſſador's Negotiations, and to ſhew the States, that *Great Britain* was in earneſt, but a poor Army to fight the Battles of the Republick, or defend the Remainder of her Barrier.

You know, Sir, it was always the conſtant Advice and Opinion of the Minority to ſupport the Queen of *Hungary* with large Subſidies only; and Experience has ſince ſhewn how rightly they judged:

And it is notorious, that when our taking a more immediate Share in this War was thought neceſſary, the timely and proper Concurrence of other Powers, engaged by Treaties, and bound by Intereſt to ſupport the Queen of *Hungary*, was made the expreſs Condition of that Advice; and I well remember, our *Sixteen Thouſand* national Troops that were ſoon afterwards ſent to *Flanders*, were expreſsly declared to be ſent thither as an Experiment only, to induce the *Dutch* to take a timely and proper Share in this War, by ſhewing them, we were really in earneſt. The little Expectations, or rather the flat Refuſal the States gave us, was notorious; yet ſo bent was the Miniſter on a Land War, that *Sixteen Thouſand Hanoverians* were, that Summer, added to our national Troops, thus continued on the Continent, againſt the expreſs Advice of Parliament.

One need not ſay, that the great Scheme was to force the States into the War, by bringing down *France* on the Barrier; nor point out what have been the fatal Conſequences of it. The remaining Towns of that Barrier are now held by the good

Pleaſure of *France*, and from the Conſideration of that precarious Tenure, we did the more eaſily imagine, that the States would at laſt concur with us, from Motives of Self-preſervation, could they be perſuaded that our real Intention was to finiſh the War by a ſpeedy, and an honourable Peace.

In order to make this vigorous Effort, there was, undoubtedly, need of all the Strength we could exert; and, at ſuch a Time, *Sixteen Thouſand* Men could be but ill ſpared from our Line of Battle. But we thought no Object, however deſirable, could juſtify us to our Country, ſhould we purſue it by the continuing *Hanover* Troops in *Britiſh* Pay; and for that Reaſon, we willingly concurred in voting 200,000 *l.* additional Subſidy to the Queen of *Hungary* this Year, to enable her to replace Part of that Strength: As alſo 57,000 *l.* to the Troops of *Hanover* for March-Money home, in conſequence of their Diſmiſſion.

I know very well the artful Suggeſtions that have been thrown out on this Occaſion by the Friends of the late Miniſter, and

and too eaſily entertained by ſome of our own: I know it has been ſaid, that this was a mean, evaſive Way of purſuing the ſame Meaſure: That the *Hanoverians* were ſtill to be paid with *Britiſh* Money: That it was no Difference to *England*, whether they were paid immediately by us, or by the Queen of *Hungary* with our Money; and that, all Circumſtances conſidered, this was a leſs effectual, and leſs frugal Method, than the actual continuing them in our Pay: And I do not deny, that it was believed at this Time, that ſome of thoſe Troops would be taken into the Service of the Queen of *Hungary*, to replace Part of that Strength thus withdrawn from the *Netherlands:* But this I affirm, that the Miniſters aſſured the Houſe, that they were under no ſuch Stipulation; and that if the Queen of *Hungary*, for Want of other Troops, ſhould be obliged to take *Hanoverians*, they gave us great Reaſon to hope, that the Common Cauſe ſhould have *Twelve* or *Fourteen Thouſand* Men from her, for the ſame Expence *Eight Thouſand* had coſt us. And ſuppoſing ſhe furniſhes no more than *Eight Thouſand*, yet we ſhall ſave

all

all that immenſe Charge of extraordinary Services, *&c.* which, for the whole *Sixteen Thouſand*, over and above their ordinary Pay and Levy Money, has amounted, in the Compaſs of two Years and a few Months, to about *Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds.*

Thus much may be ſaid for this Meaſure on the Foot of Œconomy; but to me, Sir, it appears in a much ſtronger Light. That the *Hanoverians* are no longer in *Britiſh* Pay, is certain; and I dare ſay, thoſe who adviſed their Diſmiſſion, found much greater Difficulties to encounter, than the pecuniary Conſideration alone. Can we forget, that the War itſelf ſeemed to be on our Part undertaken for the Sake of theſe Troops, and not the Troops hired for the Sake of the War? Can we forget that to *Sixteen Thouſand Britiſh* Troops, exactly the like Number of *Hanoverians* were added; that amongſt them there were Horſe-Guards, Foot-Guards, and in ſhort, that it was in all Reſpects a rival Eſtabliſhment to vye with the *Britiſh*? Can we forget the Inſults our Countrymen received, and the Partialities ſhewn to this favoured

Peo-

People? And if we remember all this, can we think the Diſmiſſion of theſe Troops a light Matter; and that it was not attended with Difficulties from a certain Quarter much eaſier to be gueſſed at than deſcribed?

In Conſequence of this Diſmiſſion, we voted eight Weeks Pay to the *Hanoverians* for their March-Money home; a Vote which, however cenſured, we ſhould all have unanimouſly concurred in laſt Seſſion, and a few Months ago had little Reaſon to expect to carry in this. I am ſenſible, that no Precedent can be produced of more than ſix Weeks Pay allowed upon the like Occaſions; and, I believe, ſo much has been conſtantly given to all Mercenaries, unleſs they were diſcharged ſix Weeks before the Expiration of the Term, they were hired for, which comes to the ſame Thing: So that the extraordinary Favour we ſhewed to the *Hanoverians*, was the Addition of a Fortnight's Pay, which, I hope, conſidering the Difficulties I have juſt hinted at, will be thought no bad Bargain for the Publick; eſpecially, as it appeared, that when *Eight Thouſand* of theſe Troops marched to join Duke *d'Arcmberg*

on

on the *Lower Rhine*, the States General with great Earneſtneſs deſired the Continuance of the remaining *Eight Thouſand*, whoſe Pay expired the 24th of *December*, to enable them to evacuate their Gariſons, and to ſend their Forces to the *Rhine:* And what was ſtronger, the *Engliſh* Generals repreſented, that by withdrawing ſuch a Body from *Flanders*, the *Engliſh* Troops would be left expoſed to the Enemy.

But the great Conſideration of all was, that this Vote was giving a Diſcharge in full to the *Hanoverians*, and diſmiſſing them for ever from the Pay of *Great Britain*. This Eſtimate was to appear on our Journals, as the declared Senſe of the Legiſlature, that theſe Troops ought, on no Pretence whatſoever, to be taken into *Britiſh* Pay for the future. For this Vote will remain a ſtanding Memorial to Poſterity, that *Great Britain* diſmiſſed the *Hanover* Troops from her Service, at a Time when ſhe knew not where to find others to replace them; at a Time when ſhe was ſtraining every Nerve to make her laſt Effort on the Continent; and at a Time when her Honour, her Commerce, and I might

almoſt ſay her very Being, depended on the Succeſs of that Effort.

I believe it will be unneceſſary to ſay any Thing of thoſe Subſidies that have been this Year granted, in Conſequence of Treaties, to the Kings of *Poland* and *Sardinia*, and to the Electors of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, to ſome of which the States General have contributed a Part.—We neither gave our Approbation of that Quota, nor take upon us to juſtify the making of thoſe Treaties; but in the preſent Criſis the carrying them into Execution, was undoubtedly conducive to the great End propoſed.

It may now be expected, I ſhould give you the Reaſons for oppoſing the Vote of Credit.——If it be neceſſary in Time of War to intruſt an Adminiſtration with the expending publick Money in Services that could not be foreſeen, during the Sitting of Parliament, the Manner in which this 500,000*l.* was aſked, may, in the Opinion of ſeveral, be preferred to that Latitude which has often been given in the Clauſe of Appropriation, which, in Effect, unappropriates all that was before tied up to particular Services, and gives the Miniſtry

Miniſtry a Power over the Whole; tho' for my own Part, I ſhould rather chuſe to give this Power over the Whole, to be uſed only on the moſt urgent Occaſions, than a limited Sum, which, I am confident, will, every Shilling of it, be ſpent, and no ſatisfactory Account given afterwards to Parliament.

It muſt be admitted, that when the Ways and Means were opened, it was foreſeen, there would be an Overplus of 500,000*l.* over and above the Supplies then aſked; but it was then imagined, that a great Part of that Overplus would be wanted for Troops to replace the *Hanoverians*, and for other neceſſary Services, in order to make this a deciſive Campaign — And it would not have exceeded our Expectation, had proper Eſtimates been laid before Parliament for thoſe Purpoſes.— But we were ſurprized to find, that after all the Credit we had endeavoured to give the Adminiſtration by our Unanimity, ſo little Advantage had accrued to the Publick from it, that our Army actually wanted ſo great a Part of its Strength as 8000 Men, at a Time when the *French*

were ready to open that Campaign, which was avowedly to be our laſt:——And that the Adminiſtration ſhould, ſo late as the 21ſt of *March*, be aſking this large Sum to be granted them upon Account, on a Pretence of employing Part of it in an intended Treaty with *Denmark*, a Power at ſuch a Diſtance from *Flanders*, that if her Troops had been actually contracted for at the Time I am ſpeaking of, they could not poſſibly have joined our Army till the greateſt Part of the Campaign was over.

As for the faint glimmering Hopes given us of an Alliance with *Ruſſia*, which was to take up 200,000*l.* more of this Money, it was ſomething ſo chimerical, and had been rendered ſo compleatly ridiculous by the late Miniſter and his Friends, who for *two* Years together were continually giving poſitive Aſſurances of the Acceſſion of that Power, that, I dare ſay, this Aſſiſtance was as little expected by thoſe who mentioned it, as by thoſe who heard of it on this Occaſion.

Thus, Sir, you will ſee, that as our Concurrence in the former Votes did not proceed

proceed from private Views and indirect Influence, ſo neither did our Oppoſition to this ariſe from any peeviſh Obſtinacy; but that a real and ſincere Regard to the Intereſt of our Country actuated us in both.

During the Courſe of theſe Proceedings, we never ſuffered ourſelves to be diverted from the great Object of our Attention, the obtaining Conſtitutional Points, and continually ſolicited the paſſing ſome Bills for that Purpoſe.——Two have happily made their Way through many Enemies, and are now ready for the Royal Aſſent: One, To explain and amend the Laws touching *the Elections of Knights of the Shire*; ——the other, To render more effectual an Act for the *further Qualification of Juſtices of the Peace.*

I ſhall not trouble you with a particular Account of either: Let them ſpeak for themſelves; when they are carried into Execution, their Utility will then be better underſtood.——Hitherto they have been (I do not preſume to know the Reaſons) very induſtriouſly depreciated and ridiculed by ſome, ſecretly undermined, clogged and

altered

altered by others, and not ſupported with that Serioufneſs and Dignity which might have been expected from a *certain Gentleman*, who at length found it neceſſary to promiſe them a ſafe Paſſage, and give them a Paſſport.

The great Uſe of the laſt of theſe Bills will very much depend upon the new Commiſſions of the Peace, which are with ſo much Impatience *expected*, becauſe ſo long wanted, all over the Kingdom. —— Theſe two Meaſures were intended to co-operate and aſſiſt each other; and unleſs *both* are obtained, either alone will be defective. — You will obſerve, Sir, that new Commiſſions of the Peace was the firſt of the *nine* Propoſitions, and very fitly took the Lead, as it was to redreſs a Grievance of the longeſt Continuance, and under which all the Counties in *England* and *Wales* had more or leſs groaned, during the long Series of a corrupt Adminiſtration. — This was to reſtore Dignity to the Bench, impartial Juſtice to the Country, and that Power and Authority to Gentlemen of Fortune and Character in their reſpective Counties, which they had ſo long,

long, and ſo unjuſtly been deprived of, and had ſo much Reaſon to expect.

It is amazing, that a Meaſure ſo univerſally called for, and to which there was not the leaſt Objection made by thoſe from whom it was demanded, ſhould yet meet with ſo many affected Delays, that above *three* Months have now paſſed, and I cannot with Certainty aſſure you, it will be granted. Were my Opinion aſked, if I really thought it would be effectually complied with, I have great Reaſon to expreſs my Doubts, as, I think, I am well founded in ſaying, it has been once refuſed; and tho' I am informed, it has been again inſiſted upon, and now in ſome Shape or other promiſed, yet we muſt wait till we ſee in what Manner it is carried into Execution; for on that its Efficacy and Uſefulneſs will entirely depend.—And here, give me Leave to obſerve, that if ever any Adminiſtration ſeriouſly deſires and expects the Aſſiſtance of the Country: —If they are in earneſt to take the Nation by the Hand, and have its Weight and Authority for their Support and Protection, their Views and Intentions muſt be open

and

and undiſguiſed, upright and ſincere:—— Their Meaſures muſt be national and conſtitutional: — Firmneſs, Spirit, and Reſolution, muſt enforce thoſe Meaſures: —All private Connections with the Tools of Corruption muſt be diſſolved: —— All dead Weights and Incumbrances muſt be laid aſide:—The publick Good of the Whole muſt ſupercede all perſonal Attachments, and all other Conſiderations whatſoever.

It requires more Art and Addreſs, than, I believe, ever fell to the Share of any Set of Men in Power; much more, I am confident, than belongs to the preſent Gentlemen, to ſerve at once both *God and Mammon*. Such a Scheme muſt be always idle, and the vain Attempt can only end in the Ruin of all Character and Reputation, the Overthrow and Deſtruction of thoſe who make it. If, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, ſo often reiterated, Foreign Affairs are *not* vigorouſly conducted upon *Britiſh* Views only: —If our Allies the *Dutch* do not concur with us upon proper ſtipulated Proportions of Force and Expence: —If they do not ſtrain every Nerve with us to make this laſt Effort, towards

getting out of the ruinous Land-War, by a ſafe and honourable Peace:—(For this is a Point ſo very eſſential, that it will hereafter admit of no palliative or evaſive Excuſes.) If a Spirit of Œconomy is not ſhewn in all Meaſures, foreign and domeſtick, and immediate Advances made in the great Work of reforming all Abuſes, Civil and Military, the preſent Adminiſtration, and thoſe who concur with them, will only heap upon themſelves a greater Load of Unpopularity and Odium, and ſtink more, if poſſible, than the laſt, in the Noſtrils of the People.

I cannot conclude this Letter, without taking Notice of the Cenſures of ſome of our own Friends:—The Arrows from that Quiver, ſhot at Random, and in the Dark, were as little expected, as deſerved:—We have been condemned by ſome, for acting upon any Terms with Miniſters:—— Surely, this is too much:—Would they have us behave like the odd Fellow at Sea? who being called upon to lend a Hand to the Pump, when the Ship had ſprung a Leak, anſwered cooly, It was no Buſineſs of his, he was but a Paſſenger.—Paſſen-

gers, indeed, we are; but altho' we have not the Command of the Ship, we are the deepeſt concerned in the Cargo; and, ſurely, it is our Buſineſs to keep the Ship above Water.

Others, not quite ſo unreaſonable, only accuſe us of Weakneſs in truſting to Men, who, they ſay, have been aiding and abetting all the bad Meaſures of a moſt rapacious Adminiſtration of *Twenty* Years.—The Defence of thoſe Gentlemen's Characters is not our Concern; but give me Leave to ſay, that the Buſineſs of the State can no more be carried on without giving Credit, than the Buſineſs of Trade.——The People truſt their Repreſentatives; and when they have been deceived in them, they are obliged to truſt others:——I may carry this Matter ſtill farther, and maintain, that Affairs may be ſo circumſtanced, that you may be under a Neceſſity of truſting even thoſe, of whom you have no very good Opinion; and give me Leave to add, that this was pretty near the preſent Caſe.

We knew, we could carry no Points alone:—It is true, the two Rival Factions were

were divided in perſonal Intereſt againſt each other, even to a Rancour; but how did this operate with reſpect to our Views? ——We ſaw them unite in every Meaſure agreeable at Court: — The Diſcarded were zealous for all Supplies, becauſe they were reſolved to ſtruggle for the Diſpoſal of them; but determined Oppoſers of Conſtitutional Points, well knowing, that ſuch an Oppoſition could not weaken their Intereſt in a certain Place; by which you will ſee, it was impoſſible for us to carry any Points without ſome Aſſiſtance.

Our putting ſome Truſt in the preſent Miniſters, could not make our Affairs worſe. — If they ſhould break Faith with us, it left us but where we were, and the Effects of any perfidious Conduct could only return upon themſelves.

As Intereſt and Ambition were baniſhed from our Views, we reſolved to keep clear of Prejudice and Paſſion.——If Men break with their Friends, as often as Opinions differ about the Means of attaining the ſame Ends, no Buſineſs will ever be carried into Execution.

It was the Saying of a wiſe *Roman*, That a good Name is a real and ſubſtantial Good.—This Doctrine, indeed, hath been much run down of late Years: That Syſtem of Corruption purſued for above *Twenty* Years, as the *Tutamen* of Miniſters, could not eſtabliſh itſelf, till Men concerned in publick Affairs were brought to a Contempt of Fame and Character:—— The Contagion ſoon ſpread itſelf in all Offices, and now we ſee Fleets and Armies infected.—But theſe very Men, who affect to deſpiſe a good Name for themſelves, envy it in others, or they would not endeavour to take it away from them.—— However, it was not perhaps altogether Envy:——There might be ſome Policy in their Attempt to deſtroy our Reputation and Character:——Their Deſigns and ours are diametrically oppoſite:——If they could ſucceed in bringing the Country to ſuſpect our Integrity, we ſhould no longer be able to ſerve the Country; and they might with the greater Facility execute all the iniquitous Schemes, which we have conſtantly oppoſed.

You

You ſee by the Pamphlet, intitled, *An Epiſtle to the* Welch *Knight*, &c, that the little Arts of our Enemies to aſperſe us, *have been* more particularly levelled at *one Gentleman*.—Thoſe who know that Gentleman, can receive no bad Character of him; and thoſe who have not the Pleaſure of his Acquaintance, can have no other Idea of him than what they receive from the Voice of the Publick, in whoſe good Opinion he is ſo happy, that it *is not* in the Power of Falſhood or Envy to hurt him.—A Character eſtabliſhed upon a Conduct always ſteady and always honourable, is not to be ſhaken by Surmiſes and Inſinuations; and I have the Pleaſure to tell you, that the Tongues of malignant Men are already put to Silence.

If the Authors know of any Thing more or leſs (in the Courſe of theſe Proceedings) than what we have diſcovered to our Friends, *Let them ſpeak out*.—We diſclaim all dark and private Correſpondence with Miniſters:—We have no dirty Secrets, which we are in the leaſt afraid ſhould come to Light.—If any Practice inconſiſtent with our Profeſſions is therefore come

come to the Knowledge of theſe Men, what Occaſion is there for diſcovering it by obſcure Hints and Innuendo's?—Let them lay it open to the World:—We ſet all Mankind at Defiance upon this Head.

From what hath happened in the Courſe of theſe Affairs, the People have at leaſt this Satisfaction, to find, that notwithſtanding Corruption hath made ſo great a Progreſs in this Nation, the Whole is not infected, there is ſtill a ſound Body left, there is ſtill a great Number of Gentlemen whom Titles cannot allure, nor Preferments bribe, to ſacrifice the Intereſts of the Publick; nor need we deſpair but that ſuch a Body, firmly united among themſevelves, and ſupported by the Nation, will ſtill be able to fence againſt the Attempts which bad Men may hereafter make againſt the Conſtitution.

We have for *Thirty* Years perſevered in a conſtant Oppoſition againſt all the Incroachments of Power:——We have the ſame *Engliſh* Hearts we ever had:——We ſhall watch for the Publick; and are reſolved, by a ſtrict and regular Attendance upon our Duty in Parliament, to profit of every

Occaſion that may appear favourable for reſtoring the Conſtitution to its former Vigour: —Without taking too much Merit to ourſelves, we may venture to ſay, this is the firſt Seſſion of *Thirty* Years, wherein any Thing has been done towards a Reformation of Abuſes.——The Naval Enquiries carried on with ſo much Dignity and Impartiality, will, we hope, reſtore that Diſcipline in the Fleet which is ſo much wanted.——Opportunities muſt be catched as they offer:—Some of the moſt beneficial Laws we enjoy, were obtained when leaſt expected.

It is no Wonder, that thoſe who know but half the Truth, ſhould apply their Reproaches in the wrong Place; and we can eaſily pardon the Cenſures of ſuch of our own Friends as have been impoſed upon by falſe Relations:—They have been taught to expect more than it was in our Power to obtain; and if their Spirits ſunk a little with the imaginary Diſappointment, it is no more than natural; but the Spirits of a People have their Ebbs and Flows like the Tide; and I do not doubt but they will riſe again,

again, when they are acquainted with the true State of Things.

That you may rectify Miſtakes, and clear up Miſrepreſentations, is the Motive for my troubling you with ſo long an Epiſtle; for, you know, I have often told you, we do not think ourſelves above giving Reaſons for our Conduct to thoſe by whom we are intruſted.—I ſhall conclude this Letter by aſſuriug you, that I have concealed nothing from you.—I have given you a ſhort, plain, and true State of Facts:—We have no Secrets:—We deſire to be judged by the Evidence of Truth, and ſo put ourſelves fairly upon our Country.

F I N I S.